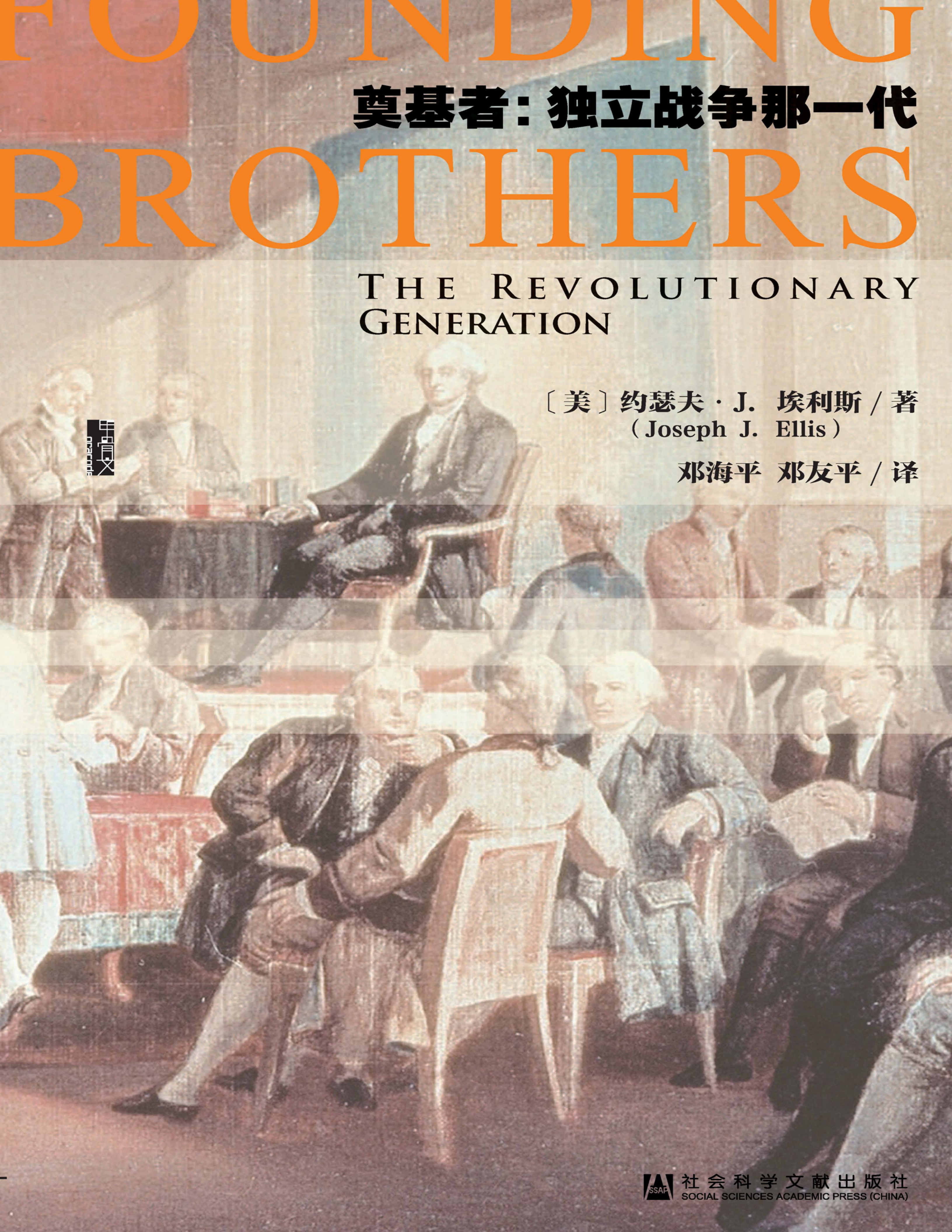

FOUNDING

奠基者：独立战争那一代

BROTHERS

THE REVOLUTIONARY GENERATION

〔美〕约瑟夫·J. 埃利斯 / 著
（Joseph J. Ellis）

邓海平 邓友平 / 译

社会科学文献出版社
SOCIAL SCIENCES ACADEMIC PRESS (CHINA)

约瑟夫·J. 埃利斯（Joseph J. Ellis）

著有多部美国历史著作，包括《激情满怀的圣人：约翰·亚当斯的品性和遗产》（*Passionate Sage: The Character and Legacy of John Adams*）和《美国的斯芬克斯：托马斯·杰斐逊的品性》（*American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson*），这本书赢得了1997年国家图书奖。埃利斯毕业于威廉·玛丽学院和耶鲁大学，他与妻子和三个儿子一起居住在马塞诸塞州的阿默斯特。

译者简介

邓海平，律师，北京大学法学学士及硕士，美国佐治亚大学LL.M。

邓友平，律师，武汉大学理学士，北京大学法学硕士和加拿大英属哥伦比亚大学M.A。

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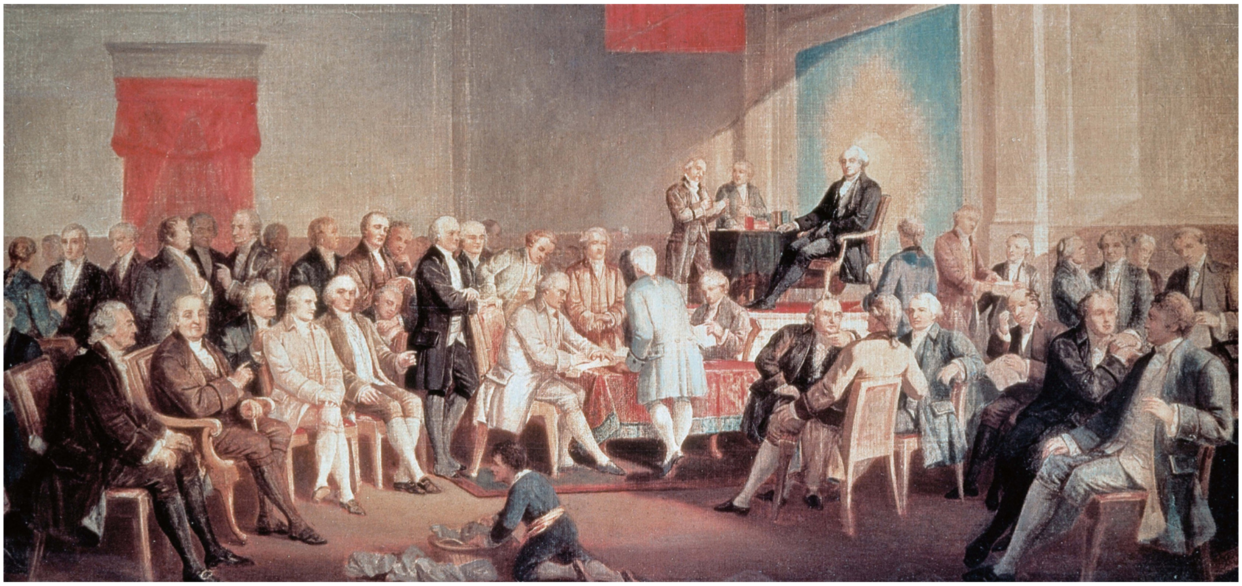
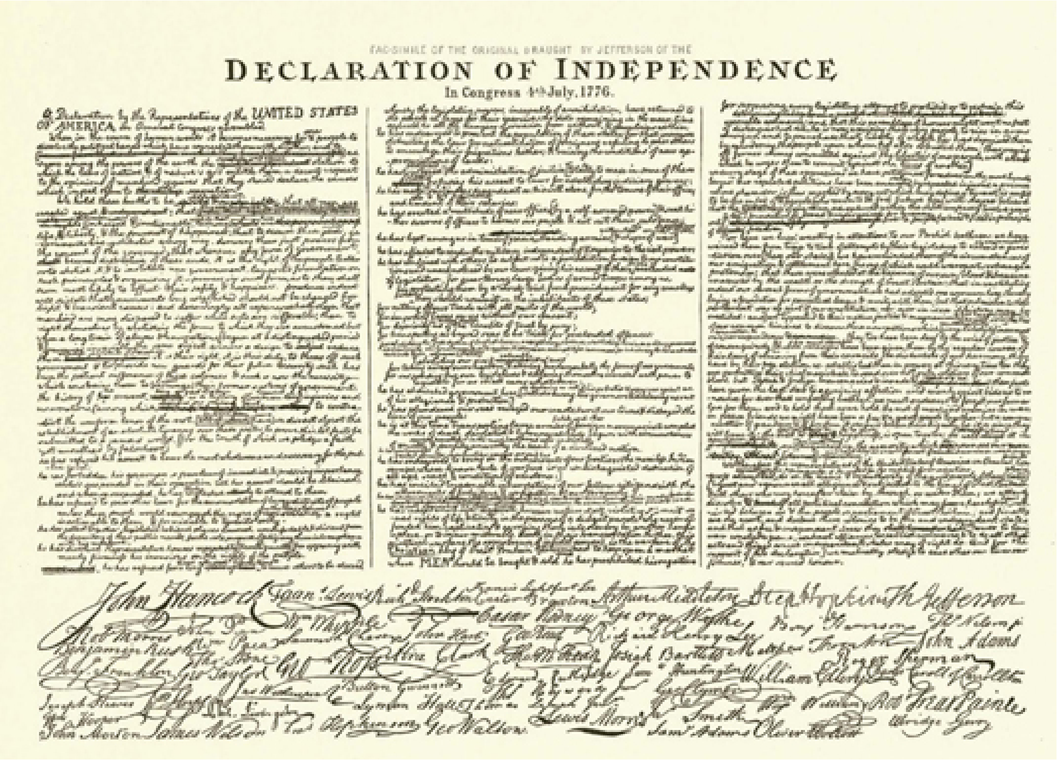
LG FERRIS ©

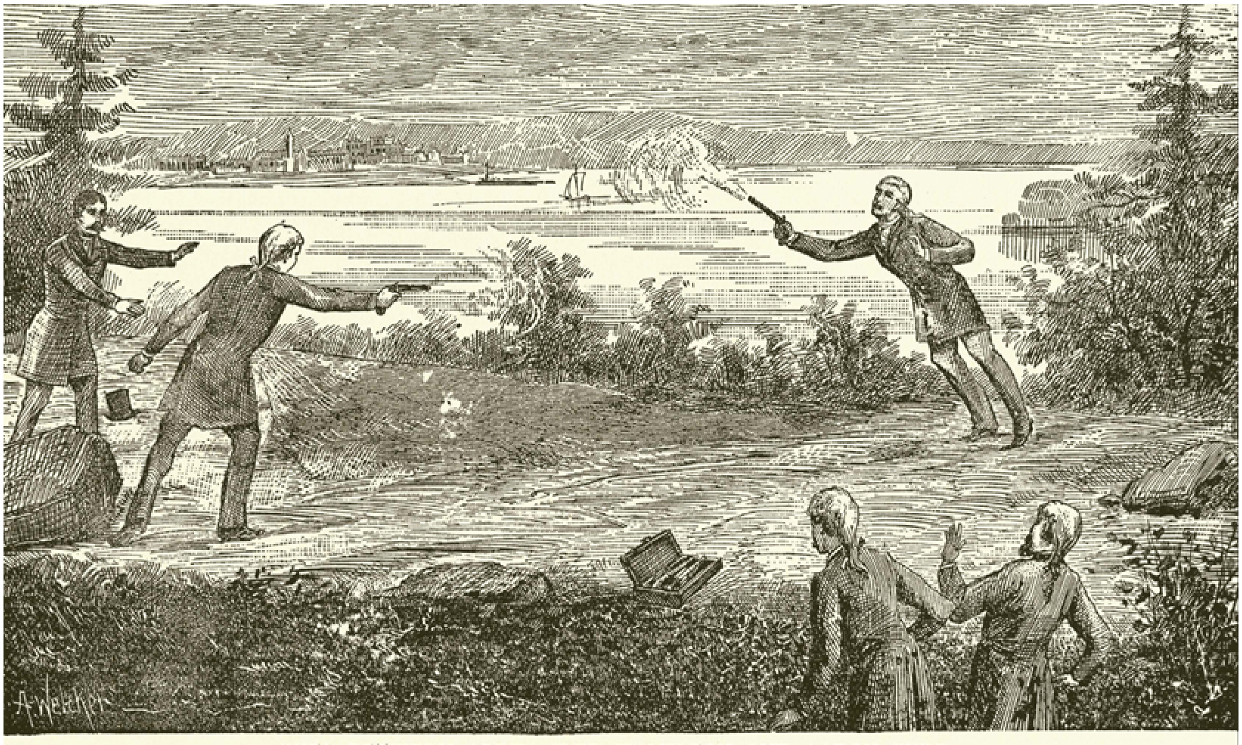
托马斯·杰斐逊、本杰明·富兰克林和约翰·亚当斯聚集在杰斐逊位于费城的住所，起草《独立宣言》。（图片由universal images提供。）



杰斐逊撰写的《独立宣言》草稿复制版本。在1790年，《独立宣言》被认为是整个大陆会议的杰作，几乎没有人知道杰斐逊在其中扮演的角色。（图片由Bridgeman Images提供。）

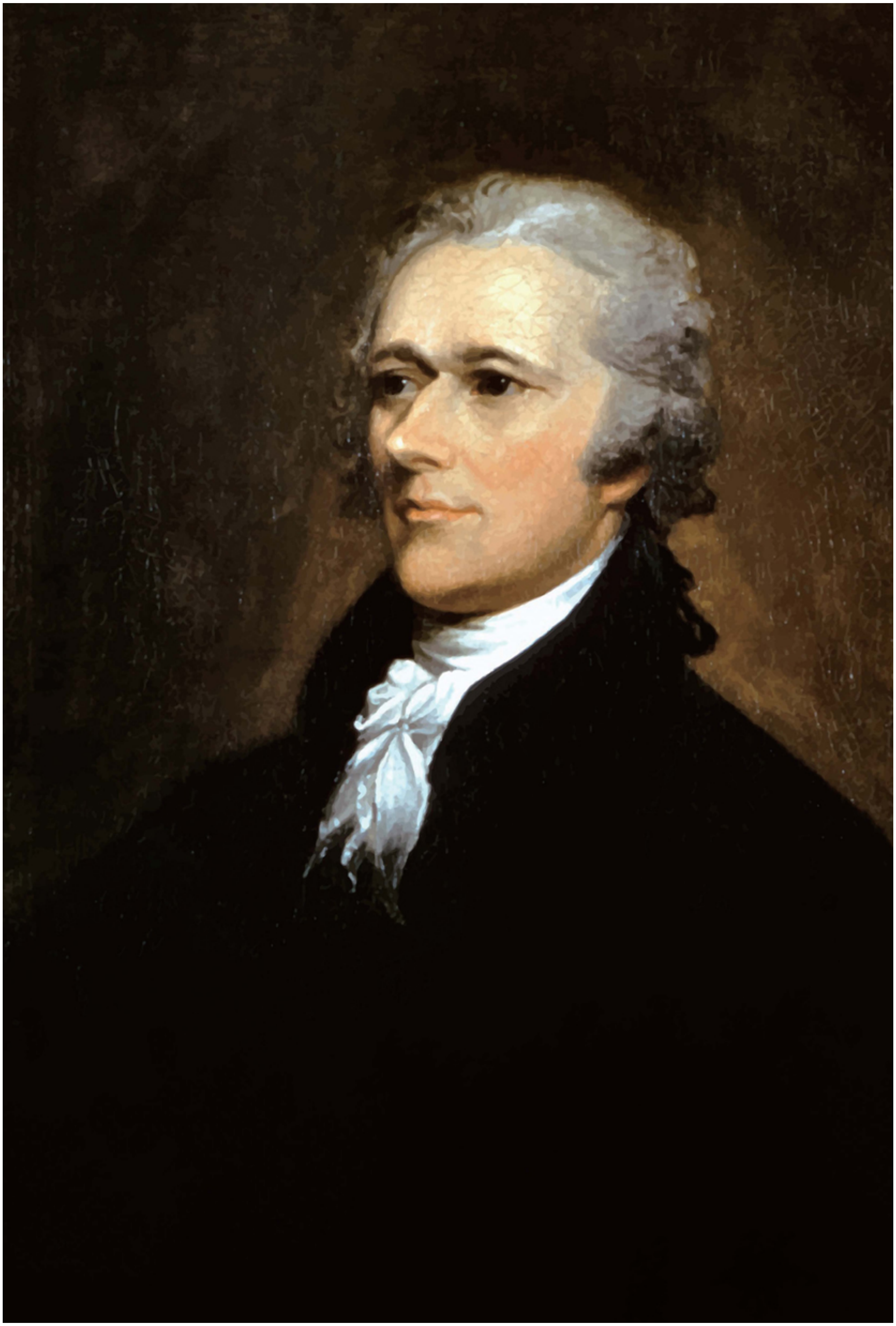


被称为“费城奇迹”的1787年制宪会议制定了美国宪法，它旨在创立有实权的联邦政府，同时又无法违背1776年精神。这一点后来成为分裂美国奠基者们的主要原因。（图片由AGE提供。）

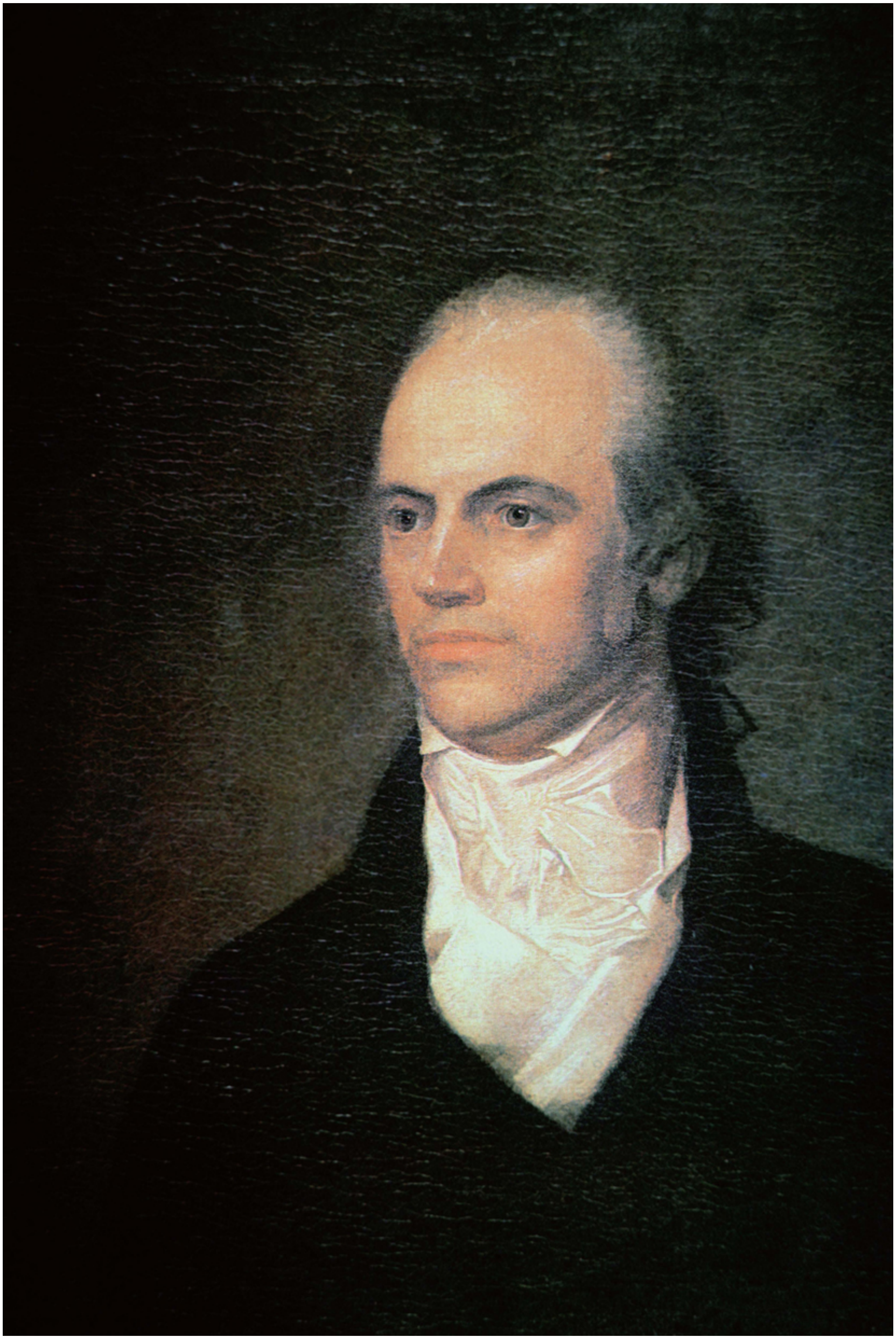


DUEL BETWEEN ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND AARON BURR.

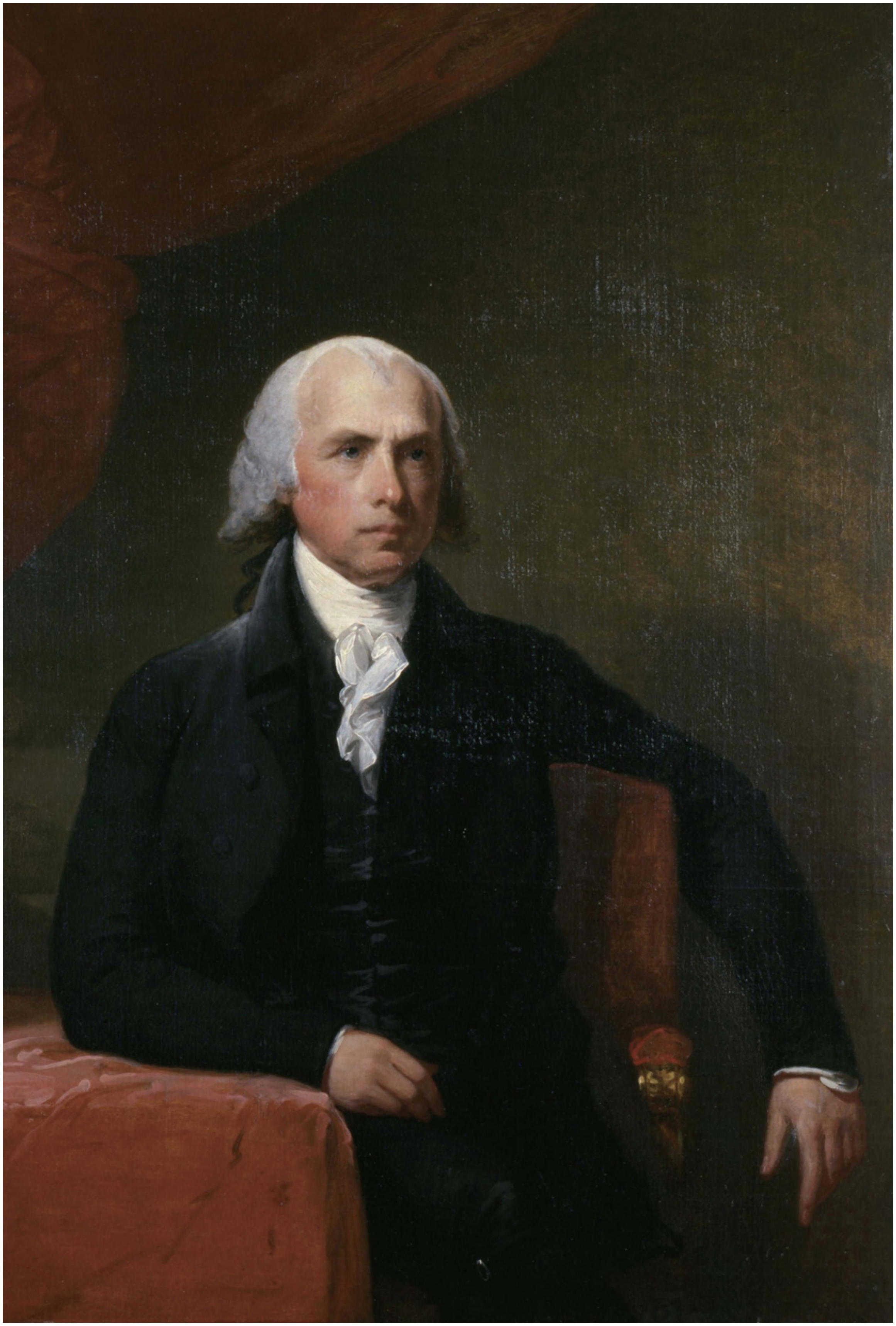
阿伦·伯尔和亚历山大·汉密尔顿的决斗发生于1804年7月11日早晨，汉密尔顿被击中右肋，第二天就逝世了。伯尔没有受伤，但从此声名不振。（图片由Bridgeman Images提供。）



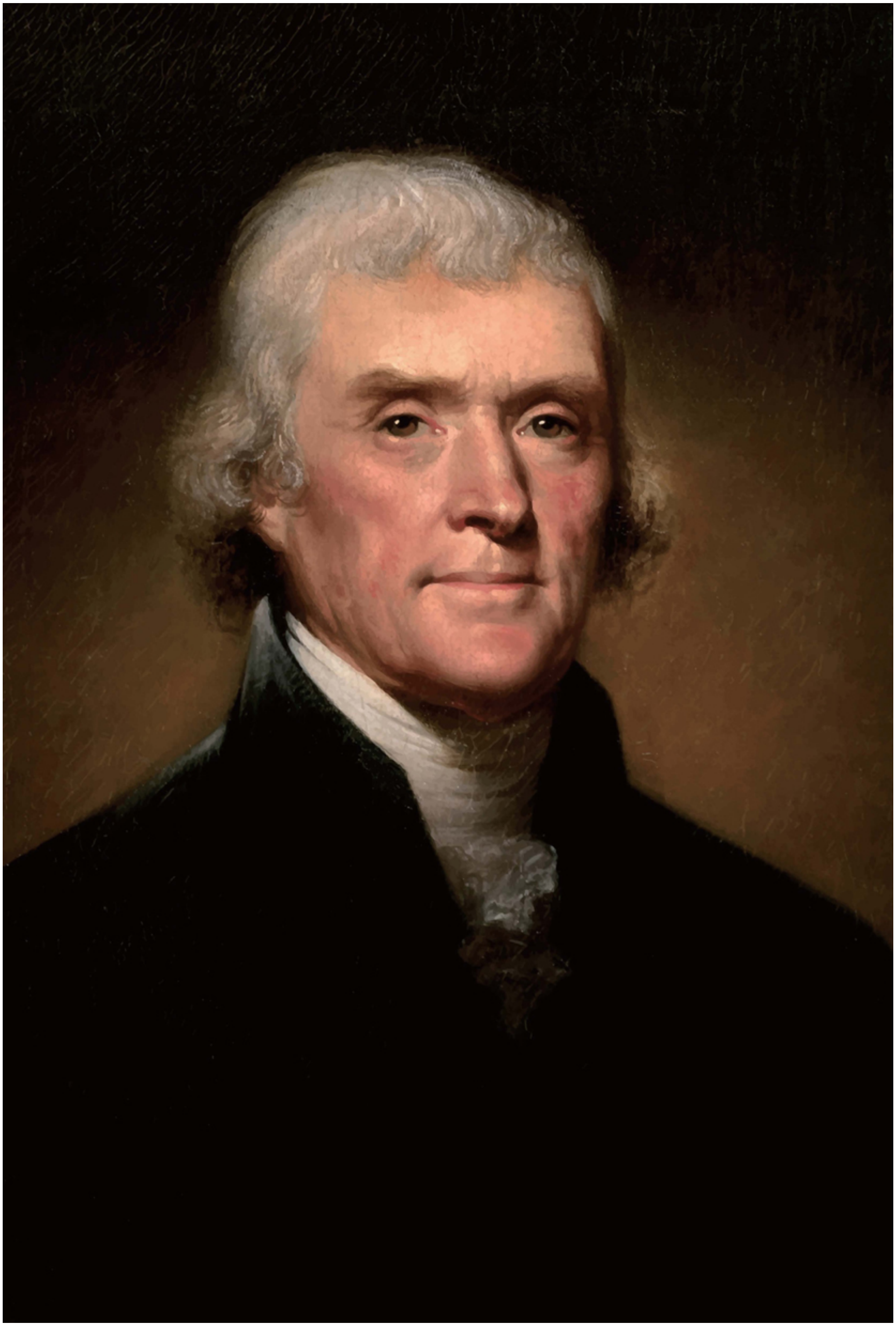
亚历山大·汉密尔顿出身卑贱，从攻打英军据点到推销自己的全国财政计划，以及最后同意与伯尔决斗，汉密尔顿总是极力证明自己的卓越能力。（图片由Stocktrek Images提供。）



阿伦·伯尔血统高贵，其一生可谓一只精明的蜘蛛，在忠诚于谁上往往顺势而为，他可以让自己跳出地狱，同时编织好罗网让其他人入网。（图片由Bridgeman Images提供。）

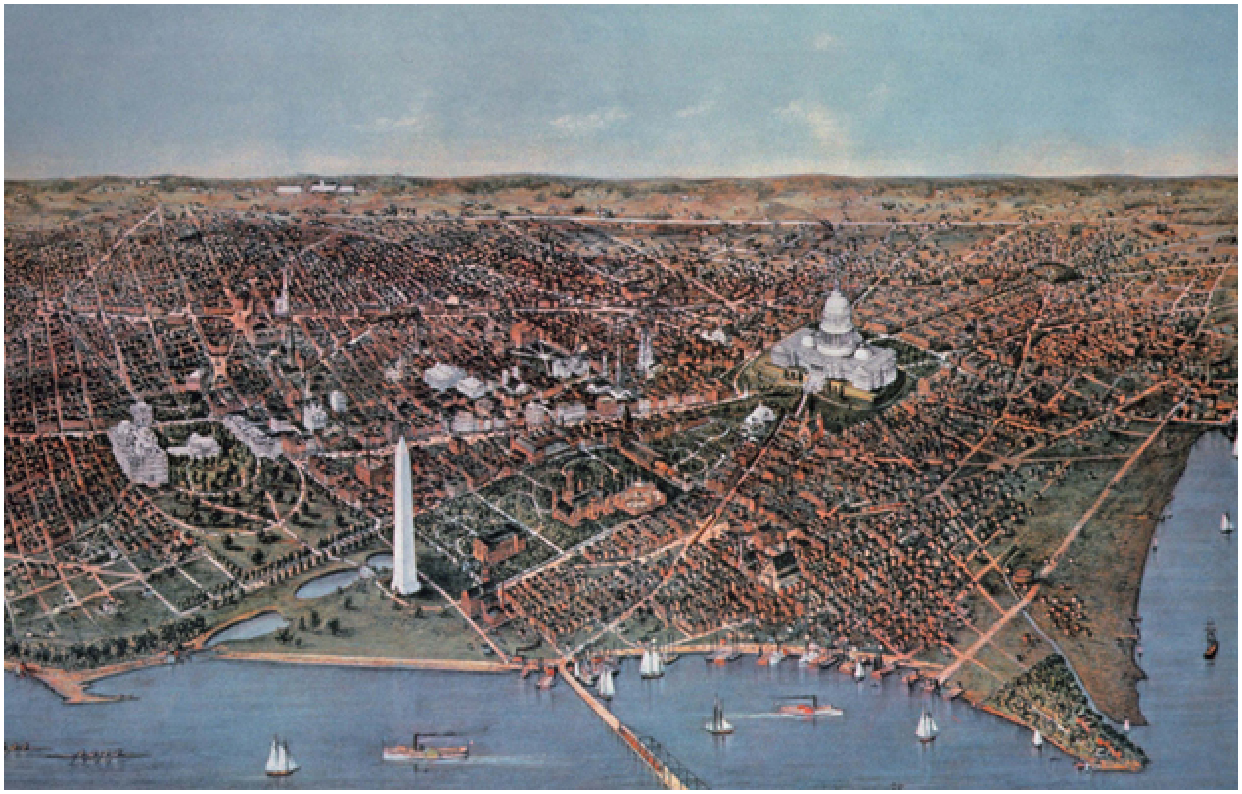


詹姆斯·麦迪逊享有国家主义者、弗吉尼亚天赋之子和宪法之父的盛誉，与汉密尔顿、杰斐逊均有过“伟大的合作”。在国家主义信仰和弗吉尼亚传统的革命信念之间，他摇摆不定。（图片由universal images提供。）



托马斯·杰斐逊以写反对不列颠侵略的文章而闻名，与麦迪逊在“1790年妥协”、反对汉密尔顿金融计划，以及后来反对华盛顿签署《杰伊条约》上密切合作；与约翰·亚当斯有着终生的友谊。（图片由Stocktrek Images提供。）

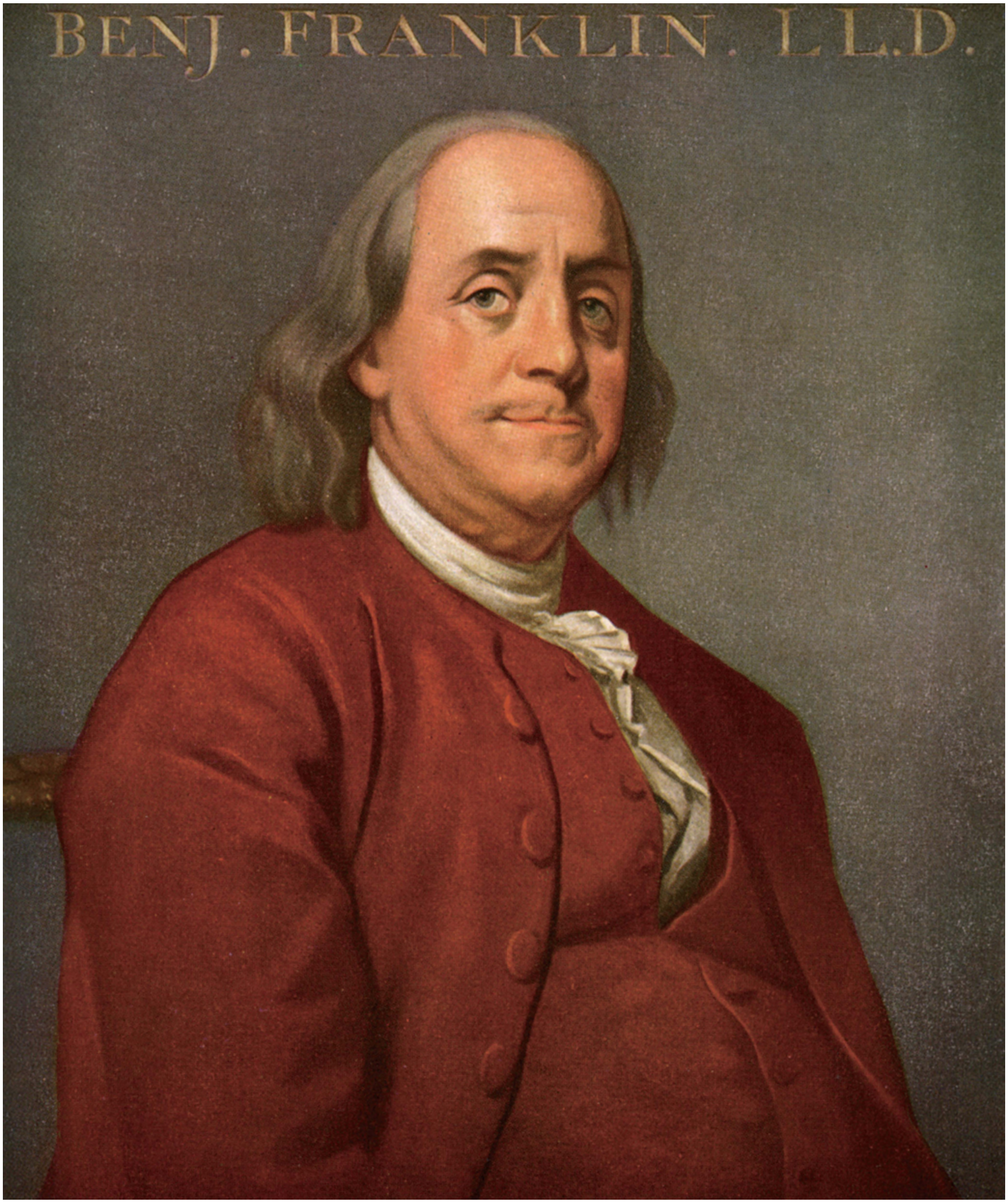
蒙蒂塞洛，弗吉尼亚州中部的一个庄园，在长达56年的时间中，一直都是杰斐逊的宅邸。（图片由Photoshot.com提供。）



19世纪末，从波托马克河向北俯瞰华盛顿特区。建都波托马克河归功于“1790年妥协”，即麦迪逊同意让国会通过汉密尔顿财政计划的核心条款，作为回报，汉密尔顿同意将首都建在波托马克河。（图片由Bridgeman Images提供。）

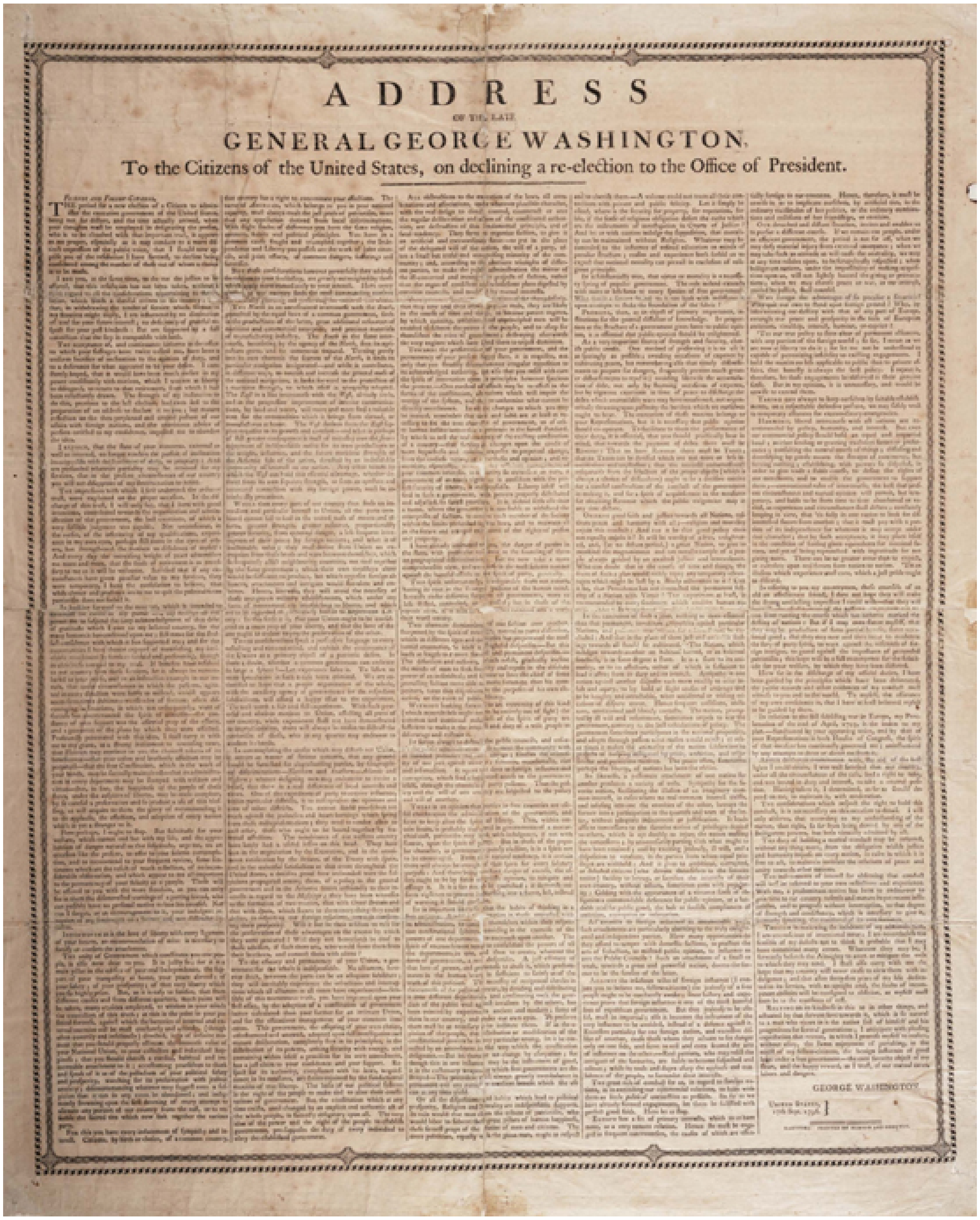
弗农山庄是乔治·华盛顿的宅邸。华盛顿退休后，一直居住于此。图中右上方为居住区域，左下方为华盛顿之墓，右下方为波托马克河。（图片由AGE提供。）

业。（图片由heritage提供。）



本杰明·富兰克林1787年担任宾夕法尼亚州废奴协会主席，并在提交国会的废奴请愿书上签字，反对奴隶制成为他生命中最后一项事业。（图片由heritage提供。）

制宪会议代表们在宪法上签字时，本杰明·富兰克林诙谐地说，刻在屋内前面那把椅子上的太阳现在似乎确实在冉冉升起。（图片由Stock Connection提供。）



ADDRESS

OF THE LATE

GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON,

To the Citizens of the United States, on declining a re-election to the Office of President.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

乔治·华盛顿的告别演说，表达了华盛顿“对内团结、对外独立”的政策理念。与《独立宣言》和林肯的葛底斯堡演说一道成为对美国永久遵循的原则的基本宣言。（图片由Bridgeman Images提供。）

乔治·华盛顿在整个第二任期，一直渴望在弗农山庄的“葡萄树和无花果树下”，享受“光荣的孤立感”。（图片由Bridgeman Images提供。）

约翰·杰伊受华盛顿指派，于1794年与英国签订《杰伊条约》。该条约的签订造成了华盛顿总统任期内的最大危机，引发了对其君主倾向的最恶毒攻击。（图片由AGE提供。）

约翰·亚当斯是美国第一位副总统，是被他描述为“人类曾经发明或想象过的最不重要职位”的第一个占据者。后与托马斯·杰斐逊争夺总统之位，伟大的合作逐渐走向伟大的对抗。（图片由Photo researcher提供。）

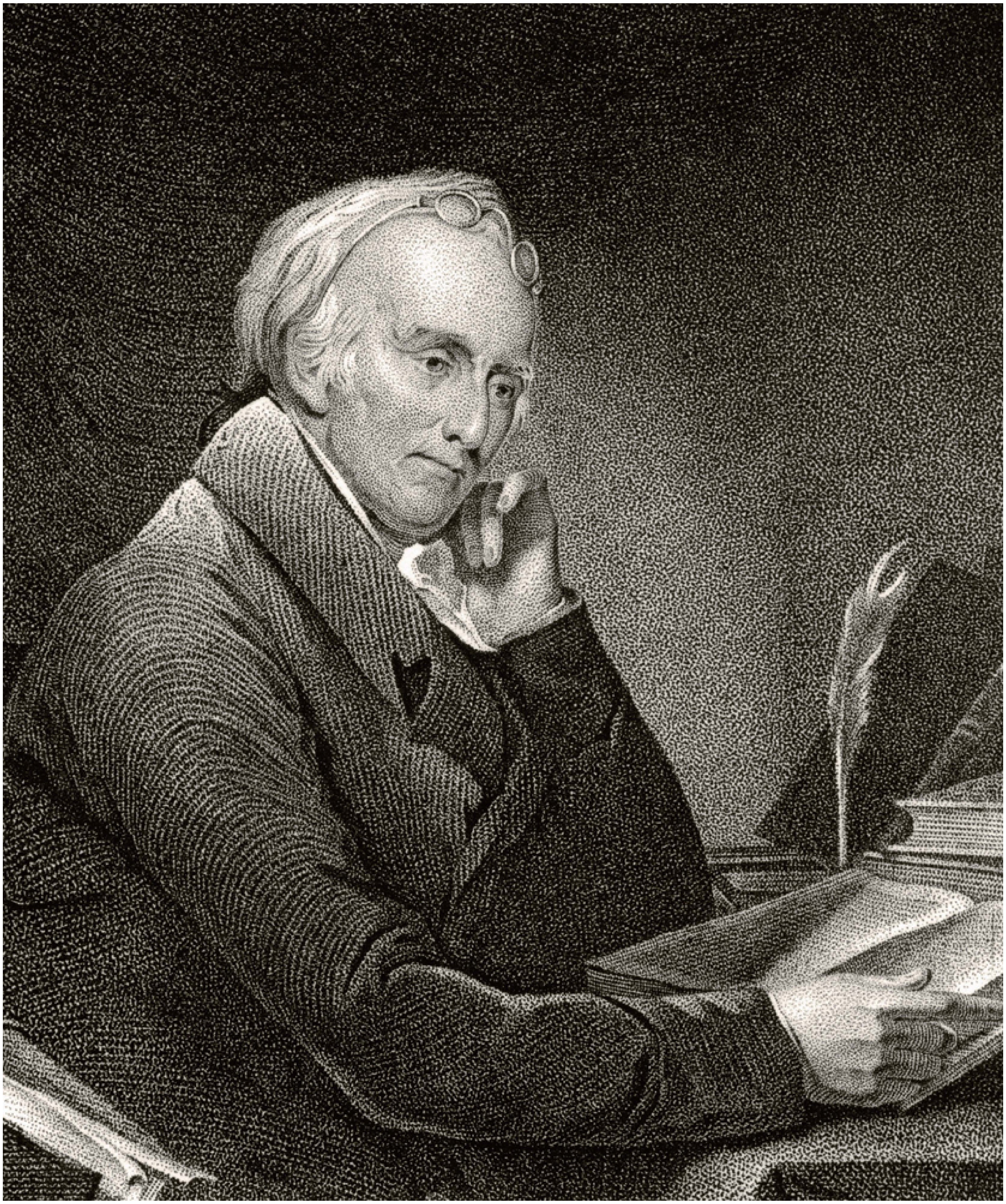
阿比盖尔·亚当斯是约翰·亚当斯的红颜知己，有着非凡的政治直觉。在亚当斯尽力回避与杰斐逊交往期间，她成了亚当斯的主心骨和合作伙伴。（图片由Bridgeman Images提供。）

斯宁愿相信儿子对欧洲事务的深刻了解，而不是官方报告。（图片

约翰·昆西·亚当斯一直是他父亲在欧洲的消息前哨，约翰·亚当斯宁愿相信儿子对欧洲事务的深刻了解，而不是官方报告。（图片

由superstock提供。）

亚当斯位于昆西市的宅邸。他曾诙谐地称它为“蒙蒂奇洛”，意为“非常小的山峰”，以示对杰斐逊“蒙蒂塞洛”（意为“小山峰”）的尊重。（图片由superstock提供。）



本杰明·拉什是亚当斯最亲密的朋友之一，是亚当斯和杰斐逊之间友谊得以恢复的中间人。（图片由universal images提供。）

[illegible]

[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]

——《纽约时报》（*The New York Times*）

[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]

——《芝加哥论坛报》（*Chicago Tribune*）

[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]

——《圣路易斯快邮报》（*St.Louis Post–Dispatch*）

[illegible]……[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

——《华盛顿邮报书评世界》（*The Washington Post Book World*）

[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]

——《商业周刊》（*Business Week*）

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——《书评月刊》（*BookPage*）

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——《纽约时报书评》（*The New York Times Book Review*）

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——《新闻与观察者》（*The News & Observer*）

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——《俄勒冈人报》（*The Oregonian*）

[illegible]……[illegible]

——《休斯敦纪事报》（*Houston Chronicle*）

[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]

——《亚特兰大新闻宪政报》（*The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*）

[illegible]……[illegible]

——《波士顿环球报》（*The Boston Globe*）

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——戈登·S.伍德，《纽约时报书评》

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]……[illegible]

——本森·鲍布里克，《纽约时报书评》

[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]

——米契克·卡图坦尼，《纽约时报》

[illegible]……[illegible]·J.[illegible]

——大卫·M.施利布曼，《波士顿环球报》

[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]

——杰伊·维尼克，《华尔街日报》

[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]

——乔伊斯·阿普尔比，《华盛顿邮报书评世界》

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]（Lytton Strachey）[illegible]*Eminent Victorians*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”

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约瑟夫 · J.埃利斯

阿默斯特，马萨诸塞州

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……”[illegible]1807[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1776[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][1]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]19[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]18[illegible][2]

[illegible]·[illegible]1776[illegible]7[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][3]

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[illegible]19[illegible]18[illegible]25[illegible]

[illegible]18[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1783[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible][5]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]Articles of Confederation[illegible][6]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][7]

[illegible]1787[illegible]55[illegible]

[illegible]Potomac[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]1776[illegible]“1776[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1787[illegible]1788[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1776[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]18[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][8]

1789[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]16[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1776[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1790[illegible]70[illegible]90%[illegible]1776[illegible][9]

[illegible]1855[illegible]1865[illegible]1940[illegible]1940[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1798[illegible][10]

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]*History of the American Revolution*[illegible]1805[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1790[illegible]1800[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]*The Life of George Washington*[illegible]1787[illegible]1788[illegible]

[illegible]“1776[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11]

[illegible][12]

[illegible]1790[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]19[illegible]

[illegible]1776[illegible]

[illegible]1790[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]the Age of Passion[illegible][13]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Alfred North Whitehead[illegible]·[illegible]18[illegible][14]

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[illegible]1804[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]Weehawken[illegible][16][illegible]……

[1] Adams to Nathan Webb□12 October 1755□*Works*□vol.1□23-34□Adams to Abigail Adams□2 June 1776□Lyman Butterfield□ed.□*Adams Family Correspondence*□3 vols.□Cambridge□1963□□vol.2□3□Adams to Benjamin Rush□21 May 1807□Spur□89.

[2] Francis Fukuyama□*The End of History and the Last Man*□New York□1993□.

[3] Benjamin Rush to Adams□20 July 1811□Spur□183.

[4] Ira Gruber□*The Home Brothers and the American Revolution*□Willaimsburg□1972□□Kevin Phillips□*The Cousins' W*

ar□Religion□Politics□and the Triumph of Anglo-America□New York□1999□□291-299.

[5] *Writings*□517.

[6] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Bernard Bailyn□*Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*□Cambridge□1967□□□1780□□□□□□□□□□Gordon Wood□*The Creation of the American Republic*□Chapel Hill□1969□□□1790□□□□□□□□□□□Lance Banning□*The Jeffersonian Persuasion□Evolution of the Party Ideology*□Ithaca□N.Y.□1978□□

[7] Adams to Benjamin Rush□10 July 1812□Spur□231-232.

[8] T.H.Breen□"Ideology and Nationalism on the Eve of the American Revolution□Revisions Once More in Need of Revising□" *JAH 84*□June 1997□□13-39□John Murrin□"A Roof Without Walls□The Dilemma of American National Identity□"in Richard Beeman□Stephen Botein□Edward Carter□eds.□*Beyond Confederation□Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity*□Chapel Hill□1987□□334-38.

[9] Jefferson to William Fleming□1 July 1776□Boyd□vol. 1□411-12□U.S.Bureau of Census□*First Census*□Baltimore□1966□□6-8.

[10] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich□*A Midwife’s Tale□The Life of Martha Ballard Based on Her Diary□1785-1812*□New York□1990□□Robert E.Desrochers□Jr.□“‘Not Fade Away’□The Narrative of Venture Smith□an African American in the Early Republic□” *JAH 84*□June 1997□□40-66.□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□ David Waldstreicher□*In the Midst of Perpetual Fêtes□The Making of American Nationalism□1776-1820*□Chapel Hill□1997□□

[11] Mercy Otis Warren□*History of the Rise□Progress□and Termination of the American Revolution*□3 vols.□Boston□1805□□John Marshall□*The Life of George Washington*□5 vols.□Philadelphia□1804-1807□.

[12] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Francois Furet□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Interpreting the French Revolution*□trans.Elburg Foster□Cambridge□England□1981□□

[13] Martin Smelser□“The Federalist Period as an Age of Passion□”American Quarterly 10□Winter 1958□□391-419□□□John R.Howe□Jr.□“Republican Thought and the Political Violence of the 1790s□” *American Quarterly* 19□Summer 1967□□147-165.

[14] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Perry Miller□*Nature’s Nation*□Cambridge□1967□□3-4□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Richard D.Brown□“The Founding Fathers of 1776 and 1787□A Collective View□” *WMQ* 33□July 1976□□465-480.

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[16] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1 [illegible]

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1804年7月11日早晨，阿伦·伯尔和亚历山大·汉密尔顿当时正乘着不同的划艇，横穿哈德逊河，他们要去的是新泽西州维霍肯镇附近的一个隐秘地点。就在河岸上某处，根据决斗规则，他们在相隔十步远的地方相互用手枪射击。汉密尔顿被击中右肋，第二天就死掉了。伯尔尽管没有受伤，却发现自己的声名受到了致命损害。在这场美国历史上最著名的决斗中，汉密尔顿和伯尔都成了牺牲品。

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]O.K.[illegible]*Gunfight at the O.K.Corral*[illegible]*High Noon*[illegible][1]

1804[illegible]7[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]Richmond Hill[illegible][2][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][3]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]1799[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][4]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][5]

[illegible]150[illegible]10[illegible]40[illegible]20[illegible]7[illegible][6]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][7]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1799[illegible]1801[illegible]20[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]54[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][8]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][9]

[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][10]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][11]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1804[illegible]7[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][12]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible][13]

[illegible]

> 哦，伯尔。哦，伯尔。你到底做了什么？
> 你开枪打死了伟大的汉密尔顿。
> 你躲在一片蓟丛后面，
> 鬼鬼祟祟地伸出一支大口径手枪，
> 置他于死地。

[illegible]·[illegible][14][illegible][15]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][16]

[illegible]·[illegible]4[illegible]12[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

就谁开了第一枪而言……我是最有信心的。若人们还存有任何疑问的话，那么这种疑问也将因下面的情况而烟消云散：当汉密尔顿将军开枪时，我注意到伯尔先生的身体抖动了一下，或者说轻微晃动了一下，我当时认为他肯定被击中了。但当我马上看到他仍岿然不动地站在原地时，我想他受的伤可能不是那么严重。带着他已经受伤的印象，后来我有机会问他被击中了哪里。当我向他解释我认为他受伤的原因时，他说当时站在了一颗石子或者一块木头上，让他感觉痛，脚踝也扭伤了。

[illegible][17]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][18]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][19]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22]

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[illegible]·[illegible]1804[illegible]6[illegible]25[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][24]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][25]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][26]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1804[illegible]6[illegible]27[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[27]

[illegible]——[illegible][28]

7[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1759[illegible]

为什么，士兵们，为什么
我们忧郁伤怀，朋友们？
为什么，士兵们，为什么？
我们的使命就是死亡！
什么！叹气？呸！
去他妈的害怕，继续饮酒作乐吧，朋友们！
不是他，就是你，要么就是我。[29]

[illegible]7[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[30]

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[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[31]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][32]

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[illegible]

[illegible][34]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][35]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1789[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1789[illegible]1791[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]1792[illegible]1800[illegible]1804[illegible][36]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]1790[illegible][37]

[illegible]1800[illegible]1801[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[38]

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[illegible]

1800[illegible][39]

[illegible]1790[illegible]。[40]

[illegible]1801[illegible]1804[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]。

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]。[41]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1815[illegible]。[42]

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[illegible] 1801 [illegible] 1804 [illegible]

[illegible] [44]

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[illegible][45]

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1804[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][46]

[illegible]

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1996□□289-318□□□□□□□□□□□□□W.J.Rorabaugh□“The Political Duel in the Early Republic□” *JER* 15□Spring 1995□□1-23□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Harold C.Syrett□ Jean G.Cooke□eds.□*Interview at Weehawken*□Middletown□Conn.□1960□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Syrett□vol.26□235-349□

[2] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1774□□□□□□□□18□□□□□□□□

[3] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Milton Lomask□*Aaron Burr*□2 vols.□New York□1979-1982□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□James Parton□*The Life and Times of Aaron Burr*□New York□1864□□

[4] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Broadus Mitchell□*Alenxander Hamilton*□2 vols.□New York□1957-1962□□□□□□□□□□□□John C.Miller□*Alexander Hamilton and the Growth of the New Nation*□New York□1964□□□□□□□□Richard Brookhiser□*Alexander Hamilton□American*□New York□1999□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Jacob Earnest Cooke□*Alexander Hamilton□A Biography*□New York□1979□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Nathan Schachner□*Alexander Hamilton*□New York□1946□□

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[7] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Edward L.Ayers□*Vengeance and Justice□Crime and Punishment in the* 19th *Century American South*□New York□1984□□V.G.Kiernan□*The Dual in European History□Honor and the Reign of Aristocracy*□Oxford□1986□□Lorenzo Sabine□*Notes on Duels and Dueling*…□Boston□1855□□Bertram Wyatt-Brown□*Southern Honor□Ethics and Behavior in the Old South*□New York□1982□□

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[10] David Hosack to William Coleman□17 August 1804□ibid.□344-347.

[11] Joint Statement by William P.Van Ness and Nathaniel Pendelton on the Duel Between Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr□17 July 1804□ibid.□333-336.

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[13] Benjamin Moore to Coleman□12 July 1804□ibid.□322-329.

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[16] □Ven Ness□Pendleton□□□□□□□□□“Joint Statement”□Syrett□vol.26□329-336□

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[19] Burr to Van Ness□9 July 1804□Syrett□vol.26□295-296.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Hamilton Cochrane□*Noted American Duels and Hostile Encounters*□Philadelphia□1963□□Don C.Seitz□*Famous American Duels*□New York□1919□□□

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[22] Burr to Hamilton□21□22 June 1804□ibid.□249-250□255.

[23] Burr to Van Ness□25 June 1804□“Instructions to Van Ness□”22-23 June 1804□Van Ness to Pendleton□26 June 1804□ibid.□256-269.

[24] Burr to Van Ness□25 June 1804□ibid.□265.

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[26] Burr to Van Ness□26 June 1804□Van Ness to Pendleton□27 June 1804□ibid.□266-267□272-273.□□□□□□□Syrett□Cooke□eds.□*Interview at Weehawken*□171□

[27] Burr’s “Instructions to Van Ness”□26 June 1804□Van Ness to Pendleton□27 June 1804□ibid.□266-267□272-273.

[28] Mary-Jo Kline□ed.□*Political Correspondence and Public Papers of Aaron Burr* 2 vols.□Princeton□1983□□vol.2□876-883□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Parton□*The Life and Times of Aaron Burr*□352-353□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[33] Anthony Merry to Lord Harroby□6 August 1804□Kline□ed.□*Burr Papers*□vol.2□891-893.

[34] Ayers□*Vengeance and Justice*□8-15□275□Bertram Wyatt-Brown□"Andrew Jackson's Honor□" *JER* 17□1997□□7-8□Kenneth S.Greenberg□"The Nose□the lie□and the Duel in the Antebellum South□" *AHR* 95□1990□□57-74.

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[38] Hamilton to Oliver Wolcott□Jr.□16 December 1800□Syrett□vol.25□257-258.

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[40] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick□*The Age of Federalism*□*The Early American Republic*□*1787-1800*□New York□1993□□743-746□

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[42] Hamilton to Theodore Sedgwick□10 July 1804□Syrett□vol.26□309□□□□□□□□□□□□310□

[43] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□James Roger Sharp□*American Politics in the Early Republic*□*The New Nation in Crisis*□New Haven□1993□□

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[46] □□□□□□□□□Lomask□*Aaron Burr*□vol.1□302□□□□□□□□□□□ Cooke□*Alexander Hamilton*□238.□Adams□ed.□*Documents*□167□□□□·□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□Leonard Levy□ed.□*American Constitutional Law*□*Historical Essays*□New York□1966□□57□

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他们如约而至。我向他们摊开了这个话题，承认自己由于生病，还没有完全理解这件事情，但是鼓励他们一起来讨论。他们确实这样做了。最后的结果是，麦迪逊先生默认了这样一个建议，那个问题（由联邦政府接管州债务的问题）可以重新以参议院提出的修正案的方式提交众议院审议，然而他不会投赞成票，不会完全撤回他的反对意见，但也不会在这一点上过于执着，而是采取一种听之任之的态度。其间他们中有人说道，我忘记到底是谁了，由于这个法案对于南部诸州来说有些严苛，所以应当做点什么来安抚它们。将联邦政府驻地迁移到波托马克河，应该是一个正当的补偿措施，而且很可能受到南部诸州的欢迎，是可以在联邦政府接管州债务之后提出的一个适当措施。

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> 弗吉尼亚州议会针对接管各州债务的法案做出的决议……算得上美利坚合众国历史上最奇特的一种现象。看来，投票赞成这项决议的大多数人，在1787年9月（美国制宪会议）时都在睡觉，直到几个星期以前，才清醒过来。这段时间里，联邦政府在美国各州得到承认并广泛建立起来。因此，他们的投票必须归因于他们的长时间沉睡和对所发生一切的无知。这项决议只适合于无政府主义年代，而这种年代只存在于当前这个神情愉悦的联邦政府被普遍批准之前。因此，现在这项决议就显得毫无价值、荒诞不经了。[55]

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[36] Jefferson to Randolph□18 April 1790□Jefferson to Lee□26 April 1790□Jefferson to Randolph□30 May 1790□Jefferson to George Mason□13 June 1790□Boyd□vol.16□351□385-386□449□493.

[37] Kenneth Bowling□*The Creation of Washington□D.C.□The Ida and Location of the American Capital*□Fairfax□/va.□1991□□x-xi□148.

[38] □□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1854□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[39] Kenneth Bowling□*The Creation of Washington*□*D. C.*□*The Ida and Location of the American Capital*□Fairfax□/va.□1991□□x-xi□129-138□161-181.

[40] Madison to Pendleton□20 June 1790□Rutland□vol.13□252-253□Richard Peters to Jefferson□20 June 1790□Boyd□vol.16□539.

[41] Rutland□vol.12□369-370□396□416-417□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[42] Bowling□*The Creation of Washington*□190-191.□□□□□C.M.Harris□“Wahsington’s Gamble□L’Enfant’s Dream□Politics□Design□and the Founding of the National Capital□” *WMQ* 56□July 1999□□527-564□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[45] Bowling□*The Creation of Washington*□106-126□164-166.

[46] Madison to Pendleton□20 June 1790□Rutland□vol.13□252-253.

[47] Risjord□“The Compromise of 1790□”309□Bowling□*The Creation of Washington*□179-185□Rutland□vol.13□243-246□□□□□□□

[48] Cooke□“The Compromise of 1790□”523-545□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□

[49] Jefferson to George Gilmer□27 June□25 July 1790□Boyd□vol.16□269□575.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□E.James.Ferguson□*The Power of the Purse□A History of American Public Finance*□Chapel Hill□1961□□William G.Anderson□*Price of Liberty□the Public Debt of the American Revolution*□Charlottesville□1983□□□□□□□□□□□

[50] Daily Advertiser□□□□□□□□Boyd□vol.17□452□460□□□Bowling□*The Creation of Washington*□201□

[51] “Jefferson’s Report to Washington on Meeting Held at Georgetown□”14 September 1790□Boyd□vol.17□461-462.

[52] Thomas Lee Shippen to William Shippen□15 September 1790□ibid.□464-465□□□□□□9□□□□□□□□□□□□Jefferson to Washington□17 September 1790□ibid.□466-467□□□□□□□□□□□□“Memorandum on the Residence Act□”29 August 1790□Rutland□vol.13□294-296□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

Bowling□*The Creation of Washington*□212-213□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[53] Jefferson to Washington□27 October 1790□Boyd□vol.17□643-644□□□□□□□□□□□□□Rutland□vol. 12□264-266□

[54] John Harvie□Jr.to Jefferson□3 August 1790□Boyd□vol.17□296□Carrington to Madison□24 December 1790□Rutland□vol.13□331-332□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[55] Federal Gazette□20 November 1790□□Boyd□vol.17□459□□□□

[56] “Conjectures About the New Constitution□”17-30 September 1787□Syrett□vol.6□59□Hamilton to John Jay□13 November 13790□Syrett□vol.7□149-150.

[57] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Richard Buel□Jr.□*Securing the Revolution□Ideology in American Politics□1789-1815*□Ithaca□N.Y.1972□□Roger Sharp□*American Politics in the Early Republic□The New Nation in Crisis□New Haven□1993□*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Elkins and McKitrick□*The Age of Federalism*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[58] Adams to Francis Venderkemp□24 November 1818□Adams□reel 122.

[59] □□1790□□□□□□□□□□□□□Bob Arnebeck□*Through a Fiery Trial□Building Washington□1790-1800*□Lanham□Md.□199

1.James Sterling Young *The Washington Community 1800-1828* New York 1966

[60] Elkins and McKitrick *The Age of Federalism* 163-193

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> 我们已经得到了一项保障：联邦政府永远不可能解放那些黑奴，因为此种权力既未被授予亦未被承认。无论在何种情况下，除了那些被宪法明确授予的权力之外，联邦政府别无任何其他权力，而任何未明确授予其之权力都由各州保留……简而言之，考虑到所有这些情况，我们已经在我们的能力范围之内，为这一类别的财产赢得了最佳条款。或许若当时能够的话，我们还能争得更好的条款。但总体而言，我不认为它们是糟糕的。[28]

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美利坚合众国1790年人口普查结果*

州名	自由白人	其他自由人	黑人奴隶	总数
佛蒙特	85268	255	16	85539
新罕布什尔	141097	630	158	141885
缅因	96002	538	无	96540
马萨诸塞	373324	5463	无	378787
罗得岛	64470	3407	948	68825
康涅狄格	232674	2808	2764	237946
纽约	314142	4654	21324	340120
新泽西	169954	2762	11423	184139
宾夕法尼亚	424099	6537	3737	434373
特拉华	46310	3899	8887	59094
马里兰	208649	8043	103036	319728
弗吉尼亚	442117	12866	292627	747610
肯塔基	61133	114	12430	73677
北卡罗来纳	288204	4975	100572	393751
南卡罗来纳	140178	1801	107094	249073
佐治亚	52886	398	29264	82548
总数	3140205	59150	694280	3893635

*表中数据摘自美国人口普查局《美利坚合众国第一次人口普查》（巴尔的摩，1978 年），第 6 ~8 页。

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[illegible]1790[illegible]1792[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1790[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1833[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]1790[illegible]……[illegible]” [57]

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众议院得到了本杰明·富兰克林逝世的消息。富兰克林的天才不仅为人性增光添彩，而且他对这种天才的无尽发挥，是科学、自由和祖国最为珍贵的财富。为此，众议院决定，众议员们要佩戴哀悼徽章一个月，以示对他的尊敬和纪念。[58]

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[1] Linda Grant De Pauw et al.□*Documentary History of the First Federal Congress of the United States*□15 vols.□Baltimore□1972□□vol.12□277-87.[illegible]□□□□□ Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick□*The Age of Federalism*□*The Early American Republic*□*1787-1800*□New York□1993□□151-152.Richard S.Newman□“Prelude to the Gag Rule□Southern Reaction to Antislavery Petitions in the First Federal Congress□” *JER* 17□1996[illegible]Howard Ohline□“Slavery□Economics□and Congressional Politics□” *JSH* 46□1980□□355-360□

[2] First Congress□vol.12□287-288.

[3] First Congress□vol.12□289-290.

[4] First Congress□vol.3□294.□□□□□□□Alfred Zilversmit□*The First Emancipation□The Abolition of Slavery in the North*□Chicago□1967□□159-160□

[5] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Donald L.Robinson□*Slavery in the Structure of American Politics*□New York□1971□□201-247□David Brion Davis□*The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*□Ithaca□N.Y.□1975□□122-131□Duncan J.MacLeod□*Slavery□Race and the American Revolution*□Cambridge□1974□□37-39□Paul Finkelman□*Slavery and the Founders□Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson*□London□1996□□1-33□□□Sylvia R.Frey□*Water from the Rock□Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age*□Princeton□1991□□

[6] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[7] First Congress□vol.12□296.

[8] First Congress□vol.12□307-308.

[9] First Congress□vol.12□308-310.

[10] First Congress□vol.12□297-298.□□□□□□□□□□Congressional Register□□□□□□First Congress□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[11] First Congress□vol.12□308.

[12] First Congress□vol.12□296-297□307.

[13] First Congress□vol.12□298-299□305-306.

[14] First Congress□vol.12□311.

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][52]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][53]

7[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][54]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]8[illegible]25[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible]1086[illegible]174[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][55]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1787[illegible]1788[illegible]

联邦政府，是我们自己选择的，不曾受他人的影响或威胁，是经过充分研究和缜密思考之后建立起来的，其原则和权力之分配完全遵循自由之精神，它将安全与活力紧密结合，其自身内部还具备自我修正机制，有充分且正当的理由要求得到你们的信任和支持……人民有建立政府的权力和权利，这个观念本身就预先假定了，每个人都有义务和责任服从一个如此成立的政府。[56]

[illegible]

我们处理外国事务的最重要原则，就是在与它们发展商务关系时，尽量避免涉及政治……欧洲有一些主要利益，这些利益与我们毫

无或甚少有关系。因此欧洲必定卷入纠纷之中，这些纠纷之缘起基本上与我们毫不相干……完全避免与外部世界建立永久联盟，是我们真正的政策……一个国家若希望得到另一个国家不带任何私利的帮助，这种想法愚蠢至极……期待或指望国与国之间存在真正的恩惠，实乃最严重的错误。这是一种幻想，经验会弃之如敝屣，而自重之国应视若无物。[57]

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我并不寻求你们赐予我的职位……（现在已经有了）花白头发的这个人，除了从独立战争结束到新政府组建的短暂间隔外，不论是以军官身份还是文官身份，已经将四十五年的时间——他一生中最精华的时期——献给了服务祖国的事业；希望他的过失，无论数量多大，会随着他不久之后的与世长辞而湮没；如果这些过失没有造成什么恶果，愿它们被寄存在遗忘之墓中，因为他马上就要步入退休阶段了。[59]

[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][60]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1796[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[61]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[62]

[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1790[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]12[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][63]

[illegible]1825[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1796[illegible][64]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][65]

[illegible]90%[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1790[illegible]

[illegible]1808[illegible]

[illegible][66]

[illegible]1796[illegible]

[illegible]1796[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[67]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]10[illegible][70]

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[36] □□□□□□□□□□Ellis□*American Sphinx*□□□151-152□□

[37] □□□□□□“Anas”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Ford□vol.1□168-178.□“Anas”□□□□□Joanne Freeman□“Slander□Poison□Whispers and Fame□Jefferson ‘Anas’ and Political Gossip in Early Republic□” *JER* 15□1995□□25-58□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□”□□“Notes on Professor Ebeling’s Letter of July 30□1785□”Ford□vo.7□44-49□

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[46] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Elkins and McKitrick□*The Age of Federalism*□424-431□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□W.C.Ford□"Edmund Randolph on the British Treaty□1795□" *AHR* 12□1907□□587-599□Moncure D.Conway□*Omitted Chapters in the History Disclosed in the Life and Papers of Edmund Randolph*□New York□1988□□

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□□1861□□□□□□□□□□□

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[71] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Washington to Patrick Henry□9 October 1795□ibid.□335□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Washington to Henry Knox□2 March 1797□Writings□986-

987□□□Washington to Lafayette□25 December 1798□Fitzpatrick□vol.37□66□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□……□□”□Jefferson to Madison□8 January 1797□Smith□vol.2.□955□□Malone□Jefferson and His Times□vol.3□307-311□□C.M.Harris□“Washington’s Gamble□L’Enfant’s Dream□Politics□Design□and the Founding of the National Capital□” *WMQ* 56□July 1999□□527-564□

[72] Flexner□George Washington□456-462.

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或许，现任总统与前任总统在人格上可谓天壤之别……一个冷静、周全而且谨慎，另一个的情绪则会被任何一个小火花点着，并燃成熊熊大火。一个总是关注着公共舆论，随时准备在无法引导舆论的时候追随公共舆论，另一个则以最为恶毒的情绪和指控来侮辱公共舆论。华盛顿是战场上的英雄，克服了内阁内部的任何危险。而亚当斯

却没有哪怕一丁点儿的军人品格，作为政治家他也是一个十足的堂吉诃德。前一任最高行政首脑以其真挚之情在任何地方都寻求和平，尽管采取了错误的方法；而后一任最高行政首脑却竭力要进入战争，这正是前一任所竭力避免的。

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[5] Adams to Abigail Adams□19 December 1793□12 March 1794□Adams□reel 377□Adams to Thomas Brand-Hollis□19 February 1792□Adams□reel 375.

[6] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1794□1796□□□□□Adams□reels□378-381.Adams to Benjamin Rush□4 April 1790□Alexander Biddle□ed.□*Old Family Letters*□Philadelphia□1892□□168-170□

[7] Adams to Ebenezer Stokes□20 March 1790□Adams□reel 115.

[8] James H.Hutson□"John Adams's Title Campaign□" *NEQ* 41□1968□□30-39□Jefferson to Madison□29 July 1789□Boyd□vol.15□315-316.

[9] Adams to William Tudor□28 June 1789□Adams to Rush□5 July 1789□Adams□reel 115.

[10] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Ellis□*Passionate Sage*□143-173□□Thompson□John Adams□149-173.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[13] Adams to Abigail Adams□3 February 1793□Adams□reel 376.

[14] [illegible]Ellis□*Passionate Sage*□91-98.[illegible]Adams to Abigail Adams□3 February□26 December 1793□Adams□reel 376□

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[18] Jefferson to Madison□5 October 1794□27 April 1795□Smith□vol.2□857□897-898□Jefferson to Adams□25 April 1794□Cappon□vol.1□254□Jefferson to Washington□14 May 1794□Ford□vol.6□509-510.[illegible]

[19] Malone□*Jefferson and His Times*□vol.3□276-283[illegible]Ellis□*American Sphinx*□121-133[illegible]

[20] Madison to Monroe□26 February 1796□Smith□vol.2□940-941□Jefferson to Archibald Stuart□4 January 1797□Ford□vol.7 103.

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[22] Adams to Abigail Adams□2 December 1793□12 March 1794□Abigail Adams□6 December 1794□*Adams*□reel 378.

[23] [illegible]

[24] Abigail Adams to Adams4 January 1795Adams to John Quincy Adams25 August 1795*Adams*reel 379.

[25] Adams to Abigail Adams26 December 1794*Adams*reel 378Abigail Adams to Adams10 April 1796*Adams*reel 381.

[26] Adams to Abigail Adams10 February 1796*Adams*reel 381.

[27] Adams to Abigail Adams14 February 1796*Adams*ibid.

[28] Abigail Adams to Adams21 January20 February 1796Adams to Abigail Adams1519 March 1796ibid.

[29] Adams to Abigail Adams7 January 1796ibid.Abigail to Adams31 December 17961 January 1797*Adams*reel 382.

[30] Adams to Abigail Adams8 April812 December 1796*Adams*reels 381382.

[31] Jefferson to Madison1 January 1797Smithvol.2953Jefferson to Stuart4 January 1797Fordvol.7102-103Abigail Adams to Adams31 December 1796*Adams*reel 382.

[32] Jefferson to Madison□22 January 1797□Smith□vol. 2□959-960□Abigail Adams to Adams□15 January 1797□*Adams*□reel 382.

[33] Fisher Ames to Rufus King□24 September 1800□Charles R.King□ed.□*The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*□6 vols.□New York□1895□□vol.3□304□Adams to Elbridge Gerry□20 February 1797□*Adams*□reel 117.

[34] Madison to Jefferson□22 January 1797□Smith□vol. 2□961.

[35] Adams to Abigail Adams□15 March 1797□*Adams*□reel 382.

[36] Jefferson to Edward Rutledge□27 Demceber 1796□Ford□vol.7□93-95□Jefferson to Thomas Mann Randolph□28 November 1796□□□□Malone□*Jefferson and His Times*□vol.3□290-291□Jefferson to Madison□16 January 1797□Smith□vol.2□958-959□

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[39] Madison to Jefferson□15 January 1797□ibid.□956-958.

[40] Jefferson to Madison□30 January 1797□ibid.□962-963.

[41] Ford□vol.1□272-273□Smith□vol.2□966-997.

[42] Adams to Abigail Adams□9□17□27 March 1797□*Adams*□reel 383.

[43] □□□□□□□□□□□□□Stephen G.Kurtz□*The Presidency of John Adams□The Collapse of Federalism□1795-1800*□Philadelphia□1957□□Manning Dauer□*The Adams Federalists*□Baltimore□1953□□Ralph A.Brown□*The Presidency of John Adams*□Lawrence□KS□1975□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick□*The Age of Federalism□The Early American Republic□1787-1800*□New York□1993□□513-528□

[44] Jefferson to Rutledge□24 June 1797□Ford□vol.7□154-155□Jefferson to John Wise□12 February 1798□Jefferson to Martha Jefferson Randolph□17 May 1798□Smith□vol.2□996□1063.

[45] Adams to John Quincy Adams□3 November 1797□*Adams*□reel 117.

[46] Abigail Adams to Cotton Tufts□8 June 1798□*Adams*□reel 392□Smith□John Adams□vol.2□933.

[47] Adams to John Quincy Adams□2 June 1797□*Adams*□reel 119.

[48] Abigail Adams to Marcy Cranch□20 March 1798□Stewart Mitchell□ed.□*New Letters of Abigail Adams□1788-1801*□Boston□1947□□146-147.

[49] Smith□John Adams□vol.2□937.

[50] Smith□John Adams□vol.2□958□Abigail Adams to William Smith□20□30 March 1798□*Adams*□reel 392□Smith□vol.2□1010.

[51] □□“□□□□□□”□□□□□□James Morton Smith□*Freedom’s Letters□The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties*□Ithaca□N.Y.□1956□.[illegible]Smith□*John Adams*□vol.2□957-978[illegible]Ferling□*John Adams*□365-368[illegible]Elkins and McKitrick□*The Age of Federalism*□590-593[illegible]Richard Rosenfeld□*American Aurora□A Democratic-Republican Returns*□New York□1997□□

[52] [illegible]

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[56] Abigail Adams to Elizabeth Peabody□7 April 1799□*Adams*□reel 393.

[57] Adams to James McHenry□22 October 1798□*Adams*□reel 119.□□□□□□□□□□□□Richard W.Kohn□*Eagle and Sword□The Beginnings of the Military Establishment in America*□New York□1975□□□□Syrett□vol.22□452-454□

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[61] Jefferson to Madison□6 April 1798□Madison to Jefferson□15 April 1798□13□20 May 1798□ibid.□1002□1036-1038□1048-1049□1051.

[62] Jefferson to Madison□24 May 1798□3 January□19□26 February 1799□ibid.□1053□1056□1085□1086.

[63] □□□□□□□□□□□□□Michael Durey□*With the Hammer of Truth□James Thomas Callender and America's Early National Heroes*□Charlottesville□1990□□Jefferson to Monroe□26 May 1801□15 July 1802□Ford□vol.8□57-58□164-168.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□C.O.Lerche□Jr.□"Jefferson and the Election of 1800□A Case Study in the Political Smear□" *WMQ* 8□1948□□467-491□

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[65] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Smith□vol.2□1080-1084□□□□□□□□□□□□□ibid.□1063-1075□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Adrienne Koch and Harry Ammon□"The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions□An Episode in Jefferson's and Madison's Defense of Civil Liberties□" *WMQ* 5□1945□□170-189□

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[67] Jefferson to Madison□23 August 1799.Smith□vol.2□1118-1119□Jefferson to Wilson Cary Nicholas□5 September 1799□Ford□vol.7□389-392.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Drew R.McCoy□*The Last of the Fathers□James Madison and the Republican Legacy*□Cambridge□1989□□□□Leonard Levy□*The Emergency of a Free Press*□New York□1985□□315-325□

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[71] Ferling□*John Adams*□403-404□Abigail Adams to Cranch□5 May 1800□Mitchell□ed.□*New Letters*□251□265.

[72] Syrett□vol.25□178-202□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[73] Jefferson to Levi Lincoln□25 October 1802□Ford□vol.8□175-176□□□□Elkins and McKitrick□*The Age of Federalism*□750-754□□□□□□□□

[74] □□□□□□□□□□□Zoltan Haraszti□*John Adams and the Prophets of Progress*□Cambridge□1953□□57□Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams□24□26 January 1801□*Adams*□reel 400□Ferling□*John Adams*□405-413□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[75] Adams to Gerry□30 December 1800□*Adams*□reel 399.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Elkins and McKitrick□*The Age of Federalism*□743-750□

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[illegible]1803[illegible]1807[illegible]

杰斐逊先生有理由进行自我反思了。他将如何在自己的退休生活中排遣懊悔之情，我不知道。他必须知道，他离开时政府的情况比其上一任离开时要糟糕得多，而且这都是拜他个人的错误与疏忽所赐。然而，我希望他的望远镜和数学仪器能够给他带来幸福。但是若我对他的野心没有估计错的话……他肯定会破釜沉舟……我对他没有什么

个人怨恨，尽管他让自己能够找到的每一个我的敌人都获得了荣誉与薪资。[12]

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分歧又一次出现了，我们分裂成两个不同的政党，每一方都希望让政府沿着不同的方向前进。其中一个方向是加强最平民化的那个部门，另一个则是加强那些更贵族化的部门，并扩大它们的管辖权。在这里，你我第一次分裂了。而且，由于你我进入公共生活的时间比大部分人都要长，由于我们的名字对于国人来说更为熟悉，那个认为你的思想与他们一致的政党就将你的名字写在了最上方，另一个政党则出于同样的原因选择了我的名字……由于我们消极地成为公众讨论的对象，我们自己受了伤害（这一点你已经表达得淋漓尽致了）。而这些讨论，不论是关于人、事或者观点，都是两党以仇视、尖刻、不体面的方式进行的，目前为止还没有比这更恶劣的情况出现……对我而言，从政府第一次在世界上出现到目前为止，意见的不同以及政党的分歧就一直存在。这种不同与分歧目前已经将我们的国家在同一个问题上分裂成不同的派别，这种不同与分歧在未来也将永远存在——每个人都是根据自身的特质和所处的具体环境，来决定是站在多数人一边，还是少数人一边。[44]

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[illegible]1819[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1817[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1805[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[58]

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正如我们在那些不幸拥有了这些人口的州内所看到的，真正的问题是，我们的奴隶是否应当被赋予自由？因为如果国会有权规制各州居民在州内的社会地位，那么国会宣布所有奴隶都应该是自由的就不过是再一次行使这种权力而已。那么难道我们要……发动一场伯罗奔尼撒战争来决定谁更优吗？解决这个问题尚需时日：然而我不希望你或我能够看到答案。毫无疑问，他们会相互争夺好一会儿，从而给了我们离开人世的足够时间。[59]

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1820[illegible]1819[illegible]1775[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

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[illegible]1824[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]John Henri Browere[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1820[illegible][68]

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愿它在整个世界，我相信必将如此，（先是在一些地区，随后在另一些地区，最终将在整个世界），成为一个警世号角：唤醒世人打碎一切枷锁——僧侣式的无知和迷信使他们甘愿置身于这些枷锁之中，并呼吁世人夺取自治的幸福与安全……所有眼睛都已经看到或正在看到人的权利。科学之光的全面播散，已经让人人都明白了这样一个简单的真理：人类的大多数并非生来就背负着马鞍，而人类之中穿着马靴、配着马刺、准备驾驭大多数的少数幸运者，也并非上天选定的。对别人来说，这些都是对未来保持希望的依据所在；而对我们自己来说，则要让这一天不断唤醒我们对这些权利的回忆，并让我们对它们保持永不衰减的热爱与忠诚。[69]

[illegible]1790[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Richard Rumbold[illegible]——[illegible]1685[illegible]——[illegible]

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[1] Adams to Samuel Dexter□23 March 1801□Adams to Benjamin Stoddert□31 March 1801□*Works*□vol.10□580-582.

[2] Abigail Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams□12 July 1801□*Adams*□reel 400□Adams to Francis Vanderkemp□25 January 1806□Adams□reel 118.

[3] [illegible]

[4] Adams to William Cranch□23 May 1801□*Adams*□reel 118□Adams to Benjamin Waterhouse□29 October 1805□Worthington C.Ford□ed.□*Statesman and Friend□The Correspondence of John Adams and Benjamin Waterhouse□1784-1822*□Boston□1927□□31.

[5] Abigail Adams to Jefferson，20 May 1804，Cappon，vol.1，268-269.

[6] Jefferson to Abigail Adams，14 June 1804，ibid.，270-271.

[7] Abigail Adams to Jefferson，1 July 1804，ibid.，271-274.

[8] Jefferson to Abigail Adams，22 July，11 September 1804，ibid.，274-276，279-280.

[9] Abigail Adams to Jefferson，25 October 1804，ibid.，280-282.

[10] Jefferson to Francis Hopkinson，13 March 1789，Boyd，vol.14，650.

[11] Adams postscript，19 November 1804，Cappon，vol.1，282.

[12] Adams to Benjamin Rush，18 April 1808，Spur，107.

[13] Adams to Rush，30 September 1805，Alexander Biddle，ed.，*Old Family Letters*（Philadelphia，1892），86；Lyman H.Butterfield，ed.，*The Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*（4 vols.，Cambridge，1961），vol.3，335-336；Adams to Rush，21 June 1811，Spur，182.

[14] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Passionate Sage*□*The Character and Legacy of John Adams*□New York□1993□□57-83.Mercy Otis Warren to Adams□7□15 August 1807□Charles Francis Adams□ed.□*Correspondence Between John Adams and Mercy Otis Warren*□□□□*Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*□vol.4□1878□□422-423□449□Adams to William Cunningham□22 February□31 July 1809□*Correspondence Between the Honorable John Adams...and William Cunningham*□*Esq.*□Boston□1823□□93□151□Adams to Nicholas Boylston□3 November 1819□*Adams*□reel 124.

[15] Adams to Rush□23 July 1806□Spur□61.

[16] Rush to Adams□23 March 1805□Adams to Rush□29 November 1812□ibid.□25□254-255.

[17] Adams to Rush□22 December 1806□ibid.□72-73.

[18] Adams to Rush□17 August 1812□Biddle□ed.□*Old Family Letters*□420.

[19] Adams to Rush□12 June□17 August 1812□Spur□225□242.

[20] Adams to Rush□20 June 1808□14 November 1812□ibid.□110□252.

[21] Adams to Rush□30 September 1805□14 March 1809□21 June 1811□11 November 1807□8 January□14 May 181

2□Spur□34-42□97-99□181□204□216-217.

[22] Ellis□*Passionate Sage*□143-173□Adams to Rush□27 September 1809□Spur□155□John Ferling and Lewis Braverman□“John Adams’s Health Reconsidered□” *WMQ* 55□1998□□83-104.

[23] Adams to Cunningham□16 January 1804□*Correspondence Between the Honorable John Adams...and William Cunningham□Esq.*□7-9□Adams to Rush□18 April 1808□Spur□107-108.

[24] Adams to Rush□September 1807□Spur□93.

[25] Adams to Rush□10 October 1808□ibid.□122-123.

[26] Adams to Rush□23 March 1809□ibid.□139.

[27] Rush to Adams□16 October 1809□ibid.□156-157.

[28] Adams to Rush□25 October 1809□ibid.□158-159.

[29] Rush to Jefferson□2 January 1811□□□□Spur□157-158□

[30] Jefferson to Rush□5 December 1811□Ford□vol.9□300.□□Lyman H.Butterfield□“The Dream of Benjamin Rush□The Reconciliation of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson□” *Yale Review* 40□1950-1951□□297-319.

[31] Adams to Rush□25 December 1811□Spur□200-202.

[32] Adams to Jefferson□1 January 1812□Cappon□vol.2□290□Adams to Rush□10 February 1812□*Adams*□reel 118□Rush to Adams□17 February 1812□Spur□211□□□“□□□□”□□□□□Donald Stewart and George Clark□“Misanthrope or Humanitarian□John Adams in Retirement□” *NEQ* 28□1955□□132□

[33] □□□□□Adams to Jefferson□15 July 1813□Cappon□vol.2□357.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Passionate Sage*□113-142□□□□□□□□□□*American Sphinx*□*The Character of Thomas Jefferson*□New York□1997□□281-300□□□

[34] Jefferson to Adams□12 October 1823□Adams to Jefferson□10 November 1823□Cappon□vol.2□600-602.□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□

[35] Jefferson to Adams□21 January 1812□Adams to Jefferson□3 February 1812□ibid.□291-292□295.

[36] Jefferson to Adams□5 July 1814□Adams to Jefferson□16 July 1814□ibid.□430-431□435.

[37] Jefferson to Adams□11 June 1812□Adams to Jefferson 11 June 1813□Jefferson to Adams□12 September 1820□ibid.□305-307□328□566-567.□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□1815□2□23□□□□□*Adams*□reel□118.

[38] Adams to Jefferson，1 May 1812，Jefferson to Adams，27 May 1813，Cappon，vol.2，301，324.

[39] Adams to Jefferson，10 June 1813，Jefferson to Adams，15 June 1813，ibid.，326-327，331-332.

[40] Jefferson to Adams，15 June 1813，ibid.，331-332.

[41] Adams to Jefferson，14，25，28，30 June 1813，ibid.，329-330，333-335，338-340，346-348.

[42] Adams to Jefferson，15 July 1813，ibid.，358.

[43] Jefferson to Adams，27 June 1813，ibid.，335-336.

[44] Jefferson to Adams，27 June 1813，ibid.，336-338.

[45] Jefferson to Adams，27 June 1813，ibid.，337.

[46] Adams to Jefferson，9 July 1813，ibid.，350-352.

[47] Adams to Jefferson，9，13 July，14 August，19 December 1813，ibid.，351-352，355，365，409.

[48] Jefferson to Adams，28 October 1813，ibid.，387-392.

[49] Jefferson to Adams，24 January 1814，ibid.，421-425.

[50] Adams to Jefferson，15 November 1813，16 July 1814，ibid.，397-402，438.

[51] Adams to Jefferson□15 September□15 November 1813□ibid.371-372□376□398.

[52] Works□vol.6□461-462.

[53] Jefferson to Adams□11 January 1816□Cappon□vol.2□458-461.

[54] Adams to Jefferson□2 February 1816□ibid.□461-462.

[55] Adams to Jefferson□16 December 1816□ibid.□500-501.

[56] Adams to Jefferson□16 December 1816□ibid.□501-503.

[57] Adams to Jefferson□2 February 1816□ibid.□462.

[58] Adams to Reverend Coleman□13 January 1817□*Adams*□reel 124□Jefferson to George Logan□11 May 1805□Ford□vol.9□141.

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□□

我在下面所做的注释，采用了一种比通常的学术引用规则更为合理的方式。如果对我参考过的所有书籍和文章都进行详细引用，相关注释的长度可能和本书正文一样长。我认为这不合理，读者也不需要这么多注释，是掉书袋的一种表现。我对本书正文中做了引用的全部一手资料，以及在我看来非常重要、对我有重大启发意义的二手资料，都进行了注释。有些棘手的是，这本书是我过去三十年披览有关建国年代历史文献的结晶。如果将全部相关学术著作都列出来，单子不仅会非常长，而且也并不能全面反映这些著作对我对这一历史时期的解读所产生的学术影响。作为一个不完全的弥补方案，我在下面添加了相关注释，并对有关资料源加上了自己的评论，这使得这些注释看起来像是一个有关参考文献的介绍性文字。

□□□

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